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FAREWELL REMARKS

OF

SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

AND

STATE SENATOR LEE C. GATES

BEFORE THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE OF 1913, UPON THE DEPARTURE OF OUR SECRETARY FOR WASHINGTON.

Mr. Secretary Bryan addressed the conference as follows:

Governor Johnson, Lieutenant Governor Wallace, Speaker Young and Members of the Legislature:

As I am departing this afternoon for Washington, I deem it proper that I should say a final word to you. My coming, at the President's request, upon the mission that brought me, was unusual, and yet in the President's opinion, not only right in principle but wise in policy. It was in keeping with his own course in appearing in person to deliver a message to Congress. He recognizes the division of the powers of government among the three departments, the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial, but he feels that, as they must co-operate in the conduct of the government, there should be the utmost frankness and cordiality between them in the performance of their respective duties. In like manner, while he recognizes the division of responsibility between the Federal Government and the several states, he believes that this division should not preclude conference and consultation between the executive of the nation and those entrusted by your state constitution with the exercise of state authority.

A question having arisen, which, while local in its immediate operation, is yet national and even international in some of its phases, he ventured to advise against the use of certain language in bills which were under consideration. When it seemed probable that the words would be used, notwithstanding the advice he had earnestly given, he asked whether it would be agreeable to the Legislature to have the Secretary of State visit Sacramento to confer in regard to the national and international phases of the question. The reply made by the Legislature was in the form of a resolution which reads as follows:

"Resolved, By the Senate of the State of California, that while this Senate respectfully maintains the right of the Legislature of the State of California to legislate on the subject of land ownership within the state, it will be entirely agreeable to the Senate to have the Secretary of State of the United States visit Sacramento for the purposes indicated in the President's telegram; and be it further

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"Resolved, That in view of the probable early adjournment of the Legislature, the Secretary of the Senate be and is hereby instructed to transmit forthwith these resolutions by telegraph to the President."

If this telegram could not be construed as an invitation, it at least expressed full acquiescence, and the President felt so deeply upon the subject that he sent me here to confer with you.

I need not recount the experiences through which we have passed. The Legislature, in so far as it has acted, has found it inconsistent with its view of its responsibility to follow the President's advice in the wording of the law which it regards as its duty to enact. While I shall not attempt to form a judgment as to the action of the Assembly on this subject, I have so fully presented the President's views that I do not deem a longer stay necessary. On the contrary, I feel that I can be more useful at Washington when the President has before him the bill as it reaches the Governor, if it shall finally pass the Assembly.

I can not, however, take my departure without giving expression to my appreciation of the spirit in which, as a representative of the President, I have been received, and of the courtesies that have been shown me at all times by Governor Johnson, by Lieutenant Governor Wallace, by Speaker Young and by the members of both the Senate and Assembly. The amity that has characterized our intercourse with the officials of this state is in keeping, I think, with the course that is pursued by those who, acting under a sense of responsibility about matters in which they are jointly concerned, are unable to agree upon the means to be employed in reaching the end in view. The President has impressed upon me at all times that I should emphasize the fact that his only purpose is to confer with the Legislature as to the national and international phases of the question under consideration, and that he confers not as an unsympathetic friend but as one who desires to aid to the extent of his ability where he has not only a constitutional duty to perform, but where he may be assumed to be able to judge of the effect of legislation upon our relations with other countries. He has pointed out the things which seem to him unwise in the bill that has passed the Senate. The first words to which he calls attention are "eligible to citizenship," which are as clearly discriminating as the words "ineligible to citizenship," against which he so earnestly advises. In the second paragraph the property rights of those therein described are defined as they are defined in the treaty. He fears that this will raise a question of construction and involve the subject in a law suit that

may be both irritating and protracted. I have submitted to him the suggestion—but, owing to his absence from Washington just at this time, have been unable as yet to secure an answer—that a time limit upon any bill which you pass might reduce to a minimum the unfavorable influence it exerts, if that influence is unfavorable. If, for instance, any bill that you pass dealing with the subject, is limited in its operations to two years—or even four years, but two years would give opportunity for the next Legislature to act upon the subject—it would afford an opportunity for diplomatic effort with the hope that the situation could be so improved as to make a re-enactment of the law unnecessary. Assuming that the people of California will be satisfied to reach the end which they desire by methods which will : cause the least friction between this and other nations, this suggestion is made for the consideration of those who have yet to act upon the subject.

If the Legislature is willing to avoid the use of the words "eligible to citizenship" or "ineligible to citizenship," I am authorized to suggest that the line might be drawn at another point, namely, between those whose right to own land is defined by treaty and those whose right to own land is not defined by treaty, the former to be allowed to own according to the terms of the treaty and the latter to be allowed to hold on the same terms that citizens of the United States hold land. But the President desires me to keep before you at all times the fact that he would prefer, if consistent with your views of the State's interests, to have all action deferred for a time sufficient to permit him to employ diplomatic means.

In conclusion, let me recall his preferences as they have been stated to you before:

First—The postponement of action at this time, reminding you again that under your constitution the Legislature can be convened at any time to deal with the subject as the necessities of the case may require.

Second—If action is deemed necessary, he would prefer such action as has been taken by the State of Illinois, where no distinction is made between aliens and a liberal time allowed during which an alien can hold property.

Third—If it is deemed necessary to still further restrict the holding of property, he prefers such a law as the District of Columbia now has, where the ownership of real estate is confined to citizens and those who have declared their intention of becoming citizens.

Fourth—Whatever the form of the law, he earnestly advises against words intended to draw a distinction between those eligible to citizenship and those ineligible.

Having performed the duty imposed upon me by the Chief Executive of the nation, my work is done. You have listened patiently and courteously, and now the responsibility rests upon you to do what you deem necessary, recognizing, as you doubtless do, that you act not only as the representatives of the state dealing with lands lying within the state, but as the representatives of a state occupying a position among her sister states and sharing with them an interest in and responsibility for international relations.

You are fortunate in this State in having the initiative and referendum. The initiative spurs you on to do that which you believe your people want done, while the referendum empowers those for whom you speak to put their veto upon your acts if you fail to reflect their wishes. It may be assumed, therefore, that if you feel it your duty to enact any legislation on this subject at this time, your people will either manifest their approval by acquiescence, or their disapproval by submitting your action to the judgment of the voters by means of the referendum.

I leave you with renewed assurances of the President's friendly concern in the subject with which you are dealing, and my appreciation of the kind reception which you have accorded me as his spokesman.

Senator Gates, in response, spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: If I may be permitted to speak the sentiments of this Legislature at this moment. I beg to convey to the Secretary of State of our nation, and through him to the chief executive whom we delight to honor and follow in all respects and to every degree, which we believe consonant with our duty to our state and to the work entrusted to us upon this coast: I would say that this Legislature appreciates to its fullest degree the honor that has been done to this state by the visit of the Secretary of State to join with us in an endeavor to write such legislation as shall be for the protection of our state, of our people, of our civilization upon this coast and the honor of the nation and of our relations with the sister nations of the earth.

We realize that the visit of the Secretary of State upon a mission of this character, traversing the continent from coast to coast to co-operate with us to the end that we are seeking, marks an era in American politics, marks a degree of advance, which we believe will be for the benefit of the nation at large and the conduct of public affairs hereafter, in that it brings the national government into closer touch with the individual states and marks a further advance in making of the states each a closer integral fact with the great family of states of which this nation is composed.

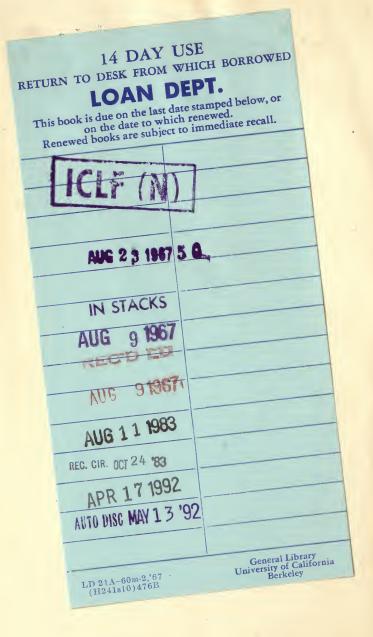
Mr. President, I beg further to express upon the part of this Legislature our profound appreciation and gratitude for the interest which has been taken by the national government in the problem that confronts the Legislature of California, and to assure the Secretary of State and the President of the United States that even though we may differ in the phraseology and terms which we may feel necessary to employ in legislation of the kind which is responsible for the visit of the Secretary of State, that we do it with the profoundest respect for the opinions of the President and his Secretary of State which have animated this visit, and if we feel impelled to depart in the slightest degree from the advice of the President, we still do it with the highest respect for the wishes of the chief executive of our nation.

Speaking finally, I wish to say, and I know that I now express the sentiments of the Legislature here, that it is the purpose and desire upon the part of this Legislature, in so far as it finds or can find it consonant with the duty it has to perform for the people of this state, to comply with the wishes of the chief executive and that we thank the President and his Secretary for the assistance which they have given to us and to express the hope that this visit may be the forerunner of further activities by the national government in assisting the sister states composing the republic, in the discharge of their duties as parts of our great republic.

And now, upon behalf of this Legislature, I beg Mr. Bryan to express the thanks of the Legislature to the President of the United States for his interest and assistance, and to you for the courtesy and kindlines with which you have discharged your ambassadorship to the Legislature of the State of California.







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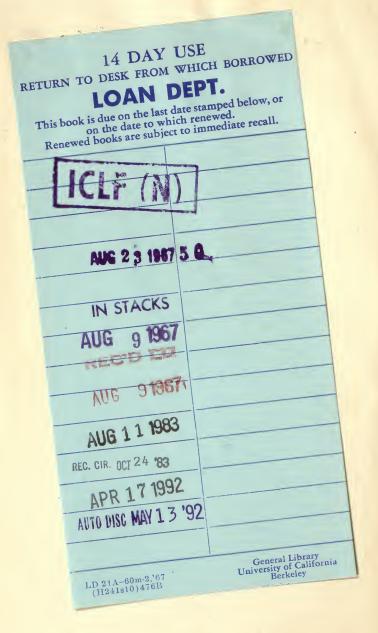
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